

COMMISSION ON
SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

ACTIVITIES REPORT
98th CONGRESS

J892-2

COMMISSIONERS

Congressional

Rep. Dante B. Fascell (D-FL), Chairman
Sen. Robert Dole (R-KS), Co-Chairman

Rep. Sidney Yates (D-IL)	Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-UT)
Rep. Timothy Wirth (D-CO)	Sen. John Heinz (R-PA)
Rep. Edward Markey (D-MA)	Sen. Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY)
Rep. Don Ritter (R-PA)	Sen. Claiborne Pell (D-RI)
Rep. Christopher Smith (R-NJ)	Sen. Patrick Leahy (D-VT)

Executive Branch

The Honorable Elliott Abrams, Department of State
Vacant, Department of Commerce
The Honorable Richard Norman Perle, Department of Defense

R. Spencer Oliver, Staff Director and General Counsel
Samuel G. Wise, Deputy Staff Director

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.	INTRODUCTION.....	1
II.	THE CONCLUSION OF THE MADRID MEETING AND OTHER CSCE ACTIVITIES.....	2
	The Madrid Meeting	
	The Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security- Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (CDE)	
	Athens Meeting on Peaceful Settlement of Disputes	
	Venice Seminar on Economic, Scientific and Cultural Cooperation in the Mediterranean	
	Cultural Forum Preparatory Meeting	
III.	HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMAN CONTACTS CASEWORK.....	10
IV.	PUBLIC HEARINGS AND MEETINGS.....	12
	Joint Hearing on Plight of Jews in Soviet Union	
	Joint Hearing on Psychiatric Abuse in the Soviet Union	
	Joint Hearing on Forced Labor in the Soviet Union	
	Hearing on the Situation of Andrei Sakharov and Unofficial Peace Groups in USSR and Eastern Europe	
V.	COORDINATION AND POLICY.....	16
VI.	CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS.....	17
VII.	REPORTS AND PUBLICATIONS.....	19
VIII.	COOPERATION WITH NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS.....	21
IX.	OTHER PUBLIC CONTACTS.....	22
X.	MEDIA ACTIVITIES.....	23

I. INTRODUCTION

The Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe was created in 1976 as an independent government agency to monitor and encourage compliance with the 1975 Helsinki Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). It undertook a wide variety of activities to fulfill that mandate during the 98th Congress.

Two major activities which engaged the Commission during the past two years were the Madrid CSCE Review Conference and the preparation of a report on the positive results of the Helsinki process. The Madrid Meeting, which began in November 1980, finally concluded on September 9, 1983 with the participation of foreign ministers. The Commission continued to play a major role in the meeting right up until the end, providing staff and backstopping for the U.S. delegation. Commission Chairman Fascell led a congressional delegation, including Commissioner Edward Markey, to the final session of the meeting and met with many foreign ministers and other officials from the other participating States.

Early in 1984, the Commission staff began the preparation of a comprehensive report outlining the positive side of the Helsinki process since its beginning in 1975 as seen from the perspective of each of the participating States. This report is the first effort by any of the CSCE states to record, in a systematic way, the benefits engendered by the Helsinki Final Act and its follow-up activities. Two research/study missions to selected CSCE capitals were undertaken by Commission staff in connection with this project. Standing alone alongside numerous reports by the Commission and others which highlight the unfulfilled or negative aspects of the Helsinki accords, this report should have a significant impact in CSCE capitals. The report is expected to be completed and distributed in early 1985.

In addition to carrying out its monitoring and informational responsibilities in major international fora, the Commission has been active on a day-to-day basis in promoting implementation of the Helsinki Accords. Public hearings during the last two years have provided an important source of information on the state of Helsinki Final Act implementation, particularly in the human rights area. Attention was also focused on such diverse topics as the plight of Soviet Jews, the abuse of psychiatry, forced labor, the forced exile of Andrei Sakharov and the status of unofficial peace groups in the USSR. As a result, the Commission has been able to provide a regular flow of reports and information to the Congress, press and public on human rights and other issues involving Helsinki Final Act implementation.

The Commission has had a unique role in policy formulation and coordination on CSCE. During the past two years, Commissioners and staff held extensive meetings with officials of the Executive Branch to review CSCE policy issues. In addition, periodic consultations were held with officials of the other signatory governments.

Following the conclusion of the Madrid Meeting, the Commission staff participated actively in several follow-up meetings organized on specific CSCE topics. These included the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (CDE), the Athens Meeting on Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, the Venice Seminar on Cooperation in the Mediterranean and the Budapest preparatory meeting for the Cultural Forum. In addition, the Commission has been closely involved in the preparations for other follow-up meetings including the first experts meeting on human rights scheduled for Ottawa in the spring of 1985.

During the 98th Congress, Chairman Fascell introduced a bill (H.R. 4504) to provide for the rotation of the Commission chairmanship alternatively between the House and the Senate. Hearings were held on the bill in 1984 and there was extensive discussion between interested Members of the House and Senate, but the bill was not acted upon before the end of the 98th Congress.

II. THE CONCLUSION OF THE MADRID MEETING AND OTHER CSCE ACTIVITIES

Madrid Meeting

The second follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe began in Madrid, Spain, on November 11, 1980 and, because of deep East-West differences, did not end until September 9, 1983. Once again, preparations for and participation in the Madrid Meeting consumed a significant portion of the Commission's time and resources in 1983.

The Commission's Role

Because of the nature and extent of Commission expertise, both Commissioners and staff members were integrated into the United States delegation to the Madrid Meeting along with representatives from the Departments of State, Commerce, Defense, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and the U.S. Information Agency. Representative Dante B. Fascell and Senator Robert Dole served as Vice-Chairmen of the U.S. delegation and all Commissioners were members of the delegation. Commission Staff Director, R. Spencer Oliver, was the Deputy Chairman, second-in-command to Ambassador Max M. Kampelman, who was appointed by President Reagan to lead the U.S. negotiators. A Congressional delegation, led by

Commission Chairman Dante B. Fascell and including then Co-Chairman Senator Claiborne Pell and other Commissioners, travelled to Madrid during the first weeks of the meeting to participate in the deliberations. In November, 1982, Commission Co-Chairman Senator Bob Dole and Commissioner Orrin Hatch took part in the proceedings. The last Congressional delegation, led by Chairman Fascell, travelled to Madrid to attend the closing ceremonies of the meeting from September 7-9, 1983. Included in this delegation were Commissioner Edward Markey and three other members of Congress.

The Madrid Meeting was in session for most of the period between its resumption in February 1983 and its conclusion in early September. The sixth phase of the meeting began on February 8 and continued until March 25. Negotiations resumed on April 19 and were more or less completed by July 15 with the exception of the traditionally difficult problem of resolving Malta's demands on Mediterranean security. Since the Madrid Meeting, by CSCE rules of procedure, could not end until there was consensus by all 35 signatory countries, the meeting continued in intermittent sessions between July 15 and early September, until Malta also consented to end the meeting. This occurred immediately prior to the scheduled concluding session of the conference (September 7-9, 1983) which was attended by the Foreign Ministers of most participating states.

During 1983 several members of the Commission staff were fully engaged in the negotiations in Madrid as they had been throughout the meeting. Commission staffers represented the United States on various negotiating groups at the Madrid Meeting, served as the special assistant to Ambassador Kampelman, acted as the press, Congressional and public relations for the delegation, handled all the delegation's correspondence, researched and drafted speeches, prepared and delivered statements, provided translation services, drafted reporting cables, and provided much of the administrative and secretarial support for the delegation.

Back-up support from those Commission staffers who remained in Washington during the Madrid sessions was vital to the delegation. Staff members provided the delegation with research on particular issues -- responding to inquiries and requests from the delegation on a regular basis -- and supplied updated information necessary for speeches and statements. Commission staff members also participated in the periodic strategy sessions of the inter-governmental steering group on CSCE held at the Department of State. Commission staffers in Washington regularly briefed Commissioners, other Members of Congress and their staffs, and representatives of the press and private organizations on the developments at the Madrid Meeting.

While the Madrid Meeting was in recess, the Commissioners and staff played an active role in developing U.S. policy and tactics toward the meeting and participated in numerous consultations with representatives from other Helsinki states, in particular with the Western allies at NATO headquarters in Brussels and in various European capitals. Staff members continued to handle correspondence relating to the meeting and to help prepare material for its next phase. Periodically throughout 1983, the staff continued its practice of issuing updates on the status of the meeting which were sent to Commissioners and other interested Members of Congress.

During the final phase of the meeting, on July 21, 1983, the Commission held a public briefing by U.S. delegation Chairman, Ambassador Max Kampelman, on the concluding document of the Madrid Meeting and its significance. This meeting was attended by Members of Congress, Congressional staffers and representatives from non-governmental organizations and the media. In November 1983, the Commission issued a report on Madrid containing an analysis of the meeting together with an assessment of the 38-page concluding document adopted at its close.

The Negotiations

When the Madrid Meeting reconvened on February 8, 1983, all of its energies were devoted to the adoption of a balanced and substantive concluding document. In the fall of 1982, the NATO allies had introduced a number of amendments to the draft concluding document presented by the Neutral and Non-aligned states (NNA) which took into account the Polish situation, the continuing occupation of Afghanistan and the dismal Eastern human rights record. While formally agreeing to negotiate on them, the East rejected many of these amendments out of hand, while offering minimal concessions on the others.

In March 1983, the NNA countries launched their second effort at a compromise draft which omitted important Western proposals and which the Western countries found especially lacking in the human rights dimension. While providing for a post-Madrid experts meeting on human rights and some improvements in the area of family reunification, the new NNA paper contained neither an experts meeting on human contacts nor adequate references to certain other human rights provisions which the West insisted would have to be part of a balanced and substantive concluding document.

After prolonged negotiations, on June 17, 1983, the Spanish Prime Minister, acting in his capacity as leader of the host country, launched a further compromise initiative which met the key U.S. demand for an experts meeting on human contacts. On this basis, agreement was reached on July 15 by all the participating states, except Malta, on a 38-page concluding

document. The agreement came as a result of a surprise decision from Moscow, reversing the previous Soviet position of adamant opposition to an experts meeting on human contacts.

The only remaining obstacle in the way of formal adoption of the Madrid concluding document was the obstinate refusal of Malta to add its agreement unless its demand for a special meeting on Mediterranean security was accepted. Such a meeting was strongly opposed by a majority of participating states, which feared that it would become dominated by Middle East issues outside the purview of CSCE. Nevertheless, Malta stubbornly insisted on its proposal until September 6 when, under the pressure of the impending arrival of Foreign Ministers for the final session, it abruptly accepted a Swedish compromise proposal dropping the security meeting idea entirely.

The final three days of the Madrid Meeting -- September 7, 8 and 9 -- were devoted to closing speeches delivered in all but a few cases by Foreign Ministers of the thirty-five countries. The character of the meeting during these last few days was abruptly transformed into an atmosphere of sharp confrontation following the destruction of a Korean commercial airliner by Soviet military aircraft. The resultant loss of 269 innocent lives, including a U.S. Congressman and other U.S. citizens, sent shock waves around the world and cast a heavy pall over the Madrid Meeting.

The speeches by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and other Western Foreign Ministers, both NATO and NNA, were replete with sharp condemnations of this brutal action. The response of Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko, who not only defended the action but threatened future "intruders" with the same fate, only served to increase the tension and the exchange of recriminations. The long-heralded bilateral meeting at Madrid between Shultz and Gromyko, which had been widely viewed as an occasion to reduce hostility and to move forward in the area of arms control, concentrated, at U.S. insistence, on the airliner incident and other Soviet human rights violations.

Despite the inordinate length of the Madrid Meeting and its down-beat, tense conclusion, it served U.S. interests in a number of significant ways. It helped to focus world-wide attention on Soviet transgressions in Afghanistan and Poland and in the area of human rights. It solidified unity among the Western nations, including the Neutral and Non-Aligned countries on most issues, in the face of Eastern intransigence. It produced agreement on a lengthy concluding document which, in most respects, met Western concerns both in the area of military security and in the field of human rights. And, finally, it functioned as an open channel for East-West communications during a period of rising international tensions.

* * * * *

The Concluding Document of the Madrid Meeting mandated a series of specialized CSCE meetings ranging from military security to human rights to culture. This created, in effect, the foundation for a continuing framework for the consideration of a broad spectrum of East-West issues. The Concluding Document of Madrid provided for a Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (CDE) which began in Stockholm in January 1984 and will likely continue into 1986. It also mandated specialized meetings on other issues including another meeting on the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes and a Seminar on Mediterranean Cooperation which were held during 1984. In addition, a two-week preparatory meeting for the Cultural Forum which is to be held in Budapest in the Fall of 1985 was convened in that city from November 21 through December 5, 1984. Experts meetings on Human Rights and Human Contacts are scheduled for 1985 and 1986 respectively. As with previous meetings held as part of the Helsinki process, the Commission and its staff, with its considerable CSCE expertise, have played an important and active role in the preparations for and on the U.S. delegations to all these meetings.

The Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe

The Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (also known as CDE) is one of the important results of the Madrid Review Conference and, as such, is an integral part of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). The Conference, which began in January 1984 in Stockholm, Sweden, completed its first year of negotiations at the end of the 98th Congress. It is slated to meet in four negotiating sessions totalling 29 weeks in 1985 and it is very likely that the negotiations will continue well into 1986. The Commission has maintained one staff member on the U.S. delegation to the Stockholm Conference throughout its deliberations and has contributed a necessary element of CSCE expertise to the predominately military-oriented delegation.

The purpose of the Stockholm Conference is to discuss and adopt confidence and security-building measures (CSBMs) which are early-warning devices involving the notification, verification and observation of military maneuvers and other military activities designed to reduce the risk of surprise attack in Europe or the start of war by miscalculation. Thus far, progress at the Stockholm Conference has been glacial due to fundamental differences between East and West on what constitutes the main substantive concern of the meeting.

The Soviet Union, backed by its Warsaw Pact allies, has advanced broad, propagandistic proposals for a treaty on the non-use of force and an agreement on the non-first use of nuclear and conventional weapons, as well as nuclear weapons-free zones in Europe, a ban on the use of chemical weapons and a freeze on military budgets. The Western countries have insisted that most of the Soviet proposals have no place at Stockholm since they do not conform to the mandate of the Conference elaborated at the Madrid Meeting which calls for concrete, specific, verifiable CSBMs, not for broad political proposals.

Instead, NATO has advanced a package of concrete CSBMs including provisions for the notification 45 days in advance of "out-of-garrison" military activities involving approximately 6,000 or more troops as well as provisions for the observation and verification of such exercises. The NATO package also calls for the annual exchange of forecasts of projected military activities as well as information on the location, size and disposition of the military forces in Europe of each participating State. So far in the Conference, the Soviets have refused to address the substance of the NATO proposals, dismissing them as thinly-disguised efforts at military espionage and as insignificant, "technical" measures in comparison to the sweeping, "politically significant" Soviet proposals. The Neutral and Non-aligned countries (NNA) have also tabled proposals which concentrate on Western-style CSBMs but contain a nod to the Soviet proposal on the non-use of force.

Most of the first year of negotiations was used up in the exchange of set statements in formal plenary sessions, with neither side moving significantly closer to the other's position. In an effort to break this impasse, President Reagan, in a speech delivered in Dublin, Ireland on June 4, 1984, offered to "discuss" the Soviet proposal on the non-use of force in Stockholm in exchange for Eastern agreement to "negotiate" on Western CSBMs. While this indicates a readiness to deal with the question of non-use of force, the West has continued to reject the other Soviet proposals as either unacceptable or inappropriate for consideration at Stockholm.

Throughout the negotiations, the U.S. delegation to the Stockholm Conference, with strong urging from the Commission, has emphasized that the CDE is an integral part of the wider CSCE process and that all CSCE issues, including human rights and security, are inseparable. This linkage was vividly demonstrated in September 1984 when James Goodby, U.S. Ambassador to the Stockholm Conference, referred specifically in a plenary speech to the plight of Soviet Nobel-prize winning scientist and humanitarian, Andrei Sakharov, and his wife Elena Bonner. CSCE Commission Chairman Representative Dante B.

Fascell, in letters to both President Reagan and Ambassador Goodby, had urged explicit mention of the mistreatment of the Sakharovs at the Stockholm Meeting.

The Stockholm Conference reached a minor milestone on December 3, 1984 when the participating delegates agreed to establish a system of working groups to discuss the various proposals introduced since the inception of the Conference in January as well as proposals which may be introduced in future sessions. Previously, the Conference had been deadlocked over the working group issue, and discussions had been limited to generalized statements delivered at plenary sessions. The working group arrangement establishes a schedule for talks on subjects ranging from genuine CSBMs such as observation and verification of military maneuvers, to political proposals such as a treaty on non-use of force in Europe and limits on annual defense budgets.

Athens Meeting on Peaceful Settlement of Disputes

Several Commission staff members were part of the U.S. delegation to the six-week experts meeting on Peaceful Settlement of Disputes held in Athens, Greece from March 21 through April 30, 1984. Delegates from the 35 countries participating in the Athens Meeting agreed on the text of a four-paragraph statement which, most likely, dooms the holding of further meetings on this subject in the CSCE context. In contrast to the outcome of the 1978 Montreux Meeting on the same topic which recommended consideration be given to a second meeting, the Athens final report contained no such recommendation for further meetings. It simply noted that the meeting was held, that much discussion on the examination and elaboration of a method for peacefully resolving disputes among the 35 states took place, and that no consensus on such a method was reached. Without a recommendation from the Athens Meeting, it is not likely that the next CSCE follow-up meeting in Vienna in 1986 will mandate another experts meeting on this topic.

The inability of the Athens Meeting to reach agreement on a generally acceptable method was caused chiefly by Soviet intransigence on the issue of third party involvement, particularly arbitration, in the settlement of disputes. At one point in the six-week long conference, it appeared that East-West agreement on the broad outlines of a method which would include consultations and non-binding conciliation might be possible. However, negotiations broke down when the Soviets refused to consider even a reference to the possibility of recourse to binding arbitration as the last step in the dispute settlement process, a reference insisted on by both Western and neutral and non-aligned nations.

Venice Seminar on Economic, Scientific and Cultural Cooperation in the Mediterranean

The Seminar on Economic, Scientific and Cultural Cooperation in the Mediterranean, mandated by the Madrid CSCE Review Meeting, was held as scheduled October 16 through 26, 1984 in Venice, Italy. The Seminar reviewed progress in the subject fields since the Valletta Meeting of 1979 and produced a final report calling for renewed action in specific areas. Unlike the East-West dimension of most CSCE meetings, the focus of the Venice Seminar was on relations between the more prosperous northern countries of Europe, the U.S. and Canada, on the one hand, and the Mediterranean on the other. Members of the CSCE Commission staff, some with experience at the Valletta Meeting, were on the U.S. delegation to the Venice Seminar.

U.S. objectives at the Seminar -- aimed largely at maintaining the status quo -- were generally achieved. The U.S. and other CSCE participants undertook no additional specific commitments as a result of the Seminar other than to give a pledge of general support for various Mediterranean economic, scientific and cultural activities, many of which were already underway. Apart from a few random references by the Soviet Union and its allies, security issues were kept out of the Seminar. At the same time, the head of the U.S. delegation agreed to a Commission proposal to include specific references to human rights victims Andrei Sakharov, Anatoly Shcharansky and Yuri Orlov in his opening speech.

Cultural Forum Preparatory Meeting

Commission staff members also participated as members of the U.S. delegation to a two-week experts meeting held in Budapest from November 21 to December 5, 1984 to prepare for the six-week Cultural Forum scheduled for October 1985. Despite some sharp differences of views between East and West on how the Cultural Forum should be organized, the preparatory meeting of experts from the 35 participating States succeeded in the end in producing an agreed agenda and work program. The main differences of opinion centered on whether the Forum should be organized primarily along the lines of the mandate from the Madrid Meeting or in accordance with different categories of culture. Western countries, led by the United States, while recognizing the necessity of some breakdown according to cultural categories, stressed the importance of the mandate which calls for a discussion at the Forum of "interrelated problems concerning creation, dissemination and cooperation...in the different fields of culture."

The Western countries believed it essential to have this concept clearly reflected in the Forum agenda and work program in order to have a legitimate basis to raise issues of censorship, artistic freedom, cultural suppression and other impediments to East-West cultural cooperation. The Eastern countries and, to a large extent, the neutral states, strongly resisted placing a heavy emphasis on the mandate, arguing that the Forum could only be organized logically along lines of such cultural categories as literature, plastic arts, performing arts, etc. At the end, a compromise was struck which incorporates both concepts and leaves the door open to discussion of all topics at the Forum and not just official cultural exchanges as the East presumably desires. As such, this constituted a satisfactory result for the Western participants who view the Cultural Forum not merely as an occasion for a general celebration of culture but as an opportunity for a serious examination of fundamental cultural problems in East-West relations.

III. HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMAN CONTACTS CASEWORK

Mandated by its enacting legislation to pay particular heed to the humanitarian provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, the Commission devotes considerable time and attention to researching violations of these provisions by the Warsaw Pact nations. Information on such violations is obtained through a number of sources including State Department reports, Foreign Broadcast Information and Joint Publication Research Service materials and relevant articles from Western, Warsaw Pact and emigre press. In addition, the Commission receives a constant flow of information -- in the form of letters, personal visits and publications -- from individuals and private and governmental organizations in the United States and Europe, as well as from various unofficial citizens' groups and individuals from the Warsaw Pact nations.

This massive documentation on human rights issues in the Warsaw Pact nations is organized, basically, into two separate filing categories. One set is divided into issue files on national, religious, political, civil, cultural, social, legal and economic problems. The other is composed of files which presently contain, in the case of the Soviet Union, information on 805 prisoners of conscience currently incarcerated (in prisons, exile or psychiatric facilities), and approximately 100 others who have served time on politically motivated charges and have been subsequently released on completion of term. Although the numbers are smaller, similar files are maintained on the countries of Eastern Europe.

Both sets of files are used by the Commission staff for researching reports and special projects, preparing background materials for hearings, Congressional foreign study delegations, public presentations and statements in the

Congressional Record by Commissioners. They are also used in responding to requests for information from the public, Congressional offices, interested media representatives and researchers. During the Madrid CSCE Meeting of 1980-83, Commission files were an invaluable source of material for U.S. delegation presentations to the conference and media. It is expected that such will be the case at the Ottawa Human Rights Experts Meeting, the Bern Human Contacts Experts Meeting, the Budapest Cultural Forum and the Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe currently being held in Stockholm, Sweden.

During the 98th Congress, special human rights projects included updating lists of imprisoned Soviet peace activists, independent labor union advocates and members of the Soviet Helsinki Groups; translating and publishing documents of the Moscow independent peace group, the "Group to Promote the Trust"; submitting nominations for the 1983 and 1984 Nobel Peace Prize from among Soviet and East European human rights activists; providing information and assistance to governmental and private organizations on various Helsinki-related issues, including the fiftieth anniversary of the Ukrainian famine; translating and publishing documentation on Soviet non-delivery of mail for Congressional hearings; and conducting a briefing for members of the U.S. delegation to the International Labor Organization on the status of unofficial labor unions in the USSR and participating in an intra-governmental panel that prepared the U.S. submission to the International Labor Organization's Commission of Inquiry on Poland. Commission staffers also periodically interviewed former citizens of Warsaw Pact nations who recently relocated to the West and who provided information on the latest human rights developments in their former countries. In addition, Commission staff carried out extensive research on such topics as forced labor in the USSR, interruption of mail and telephone service between the West and the Soviet Union, Soviet press trends in Central Asia and general Soviet policies toward dissent.

A second major Commission task involving individual cases is based on the Helsinki Final Act's human contacts provisions concerning family reunification, binational marriage, family visits and the elimination of travel barriers between East and West. These cases, which form a substantial portion of the Commission's total casework, are handled by the caseworker supervisor in collaboration with country/area officers and with the assistance of student interns. The majority of the Commission's human contacts casework comes from individuals and organizations trying to facilitate the emigration of their relatives, friends or colleagues from Romania and the Soviet Union, and members of Congress who consult the Commission on cases involving their constituents.

The staff maintains extensive files on thousands of such cases and many staff hours are spent on casework. The Commission staff compiles and regularly updates lists of unresolved human contacts cases and maintains contact with concerned parties and with some of the Embassies in East Europe in order to ascertain the most current information on them. Periodically, the Commission presents lists of unresolved human contacts cases to representatives of East European Governments. The staff also counsels and advises family members, concerned individuals, representatives of private groups and Congressional staffs on possible strategies to resolve human contacts cases.

During the 98th Congress, the Commission's human contacts lists included over 2,800 cases, including 1,800 from the Soviet Union and approximately 1,000 from Romania as well as a smaller number of cases from Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic. While very few Soviet cases were resolved during this period due to increasing Soviet emigration restrictions, a substantial number of cases submitted to the Romanian Government were successfully concluded. Also during the 98th Congress, in part due to the Commission's efforts, the last outstanding Hungarian-U.S. family reunification case was resolved.

IV. PUBLIC HEARINGS AND MEETINGS

Hearings

The Commission conducted jointly with the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations three public hearings in 1983 on various aspects of Soviet implementation of the Helsinki Final Act. Prior to each hearing, the Commission staff, in coordination with the Subcommittee, researched relevant issues and prepared briefing materials for the Commissioners and Members of the Subcommittee and background information for release to the press and public at the hearings.

Joint Hearing on the Plight of Jews in the Soviet Union

On June 23, 1983, the Commission and the Subcommittee heard testimony from witnesses refuting the claim by the Anti-Zionist Committee of the Soviet Public in Moscow that the "vast majority" of Soviet Jews who wished to emigrate had already done so. The witnesses who testified on this important issue were: Elliott Abrams, Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights; Theodore Mann, Chairman of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry; Lynn Singer, President of the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews; and Dr. William Korey, Director of Research at B'nai B'rith International Council and a consultant to the National Conference on Soviet Jewry.

Joint Hearing on Psychiatric Abuse in the Soviet Union

The Commission and the Subcommittee heard testimony from representatives of the international psychiatric community and the Administration on the use of psychiatry in the Soviet Union as a means of punishment for political dissenters. The seven-member panel of experts for the hearing on September 20, 1983 consisted of the following: Charles Fairbanks, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs; Peter Reddaway, noted British authority on Soviet psychiatric repression; Dr. Walter Reich, psychiatrist with the Kennan Institute for Advanced Studies; Dr. Harold Vysotsky of the American Psychiatric Association and also head of the APA Committee to Review Abuse of Psychiatry and Psychiatrists; Dr. Boris Zubok, former Soviet psychiatrist now affiliated with Columbia University; Dr. Harvey Fireside, national advisor to Amnesty International; and Dr. John Karlavich who had recently returned from the Soviet Union with the latest information on psychiatric abuse.

Joint Hearing on Forced Labor in the USSR

This November 9, 1983 hearing examined forced labor in the Soviet Union as a violation of international law, and analyzed the role it plays in the Soviet economy. The U.S. policy towards goods produced through forced labor was also considered. The witnesses were asked to comment on House Concurrent Resolution 100, sponsored by Commissioner Christopher Smith, which denounced Soviet use of forced labor. The witnesses invited to testify on this issue were: Mark Palmer, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs; William von Raab, Commissioner of U.S. Customs Service; Robert Searby, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Labor for International Labor Affairs; Tom Kahn, Assistant to the President of the AFL-CIO; Amy Young, Executive Director of the International Human Rights Law Group; and Georgy Davydov, former Soviet political prisoner.

The Situation of Andrei Sakharov and Unofficial Peace Groups in the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe

On May 22, 1984 the Commission held a public hearing to highlight the situation of Andrei Sakharov and the unofficial peace groups in the USSR and Eastern Europe. The four witnesses were Dr. Sidney Drell of Stanford University's Linear Accelerator Center; Sergei Batovrin, leading member of the Group to Promote Trust Between the U.S. and the USSR; Valery Godyak, another Trust Group Member; and Dr. Boria Sax, a writer who discussed the situation of unofficial peace groups in Eastern Europe.

Meetings

The Commission held its first meeting of the 98th Congress on January 26, 1983 to review its planned activities for the year and to introduce the new Commissioners to the staff. Also, since Commission participation in the Madrid CSCE Review Meeting -- both at the staff-level and by Commissioners -- was expected to continue throughout the year, the Commission invited Ambassador Max M. Kampelman to hear his report on the status of the Madrid Meeting and to discuss prospects for its next phase.

On February 1, 1983, the Commission hosted a "Briefing on Madrid" for representatives of non-governmental organizations and other interested individuals. Among the more than 100 people in attendance were representatives from ethnic, religious and human rights organizations, former Public Members of the U.S. delegation to the Madrid Meeting and Members of Congress and their aides. Ambassador Kampelman addressed the gathering, giving his assessment of the Madrid Meeting and prospects for its future, and responded to questions from the audience.

The Commission held another meeting with Ambassador Kampelman on April 6, 1983 to discuss the Madrid Meeting before its resumption on April 19 after a short Easter break. Chairman Fascell and the Commissioners wanted to inform Ambassador Kampelman of the Commission's concerns regarding the revised version of a draft concluding document tabled by eight neutral and non-aligned countries just before the meeting recessed for the Easter break.

At the request of Commissioner Don Ritter, the Commission co-sponsored an informal meeting with the Human Rights Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee on May 11, 1983 to hear two Afghan resistance leaders give their report on the continued Soviet military occupation of Afghanistan. The resistance leaders were Abdul Rahim of Jamiat Islami (the largest Afghan resistance group), who had information on contacts between the Afghan guerillas and Central Asian Moslems in the USSR, and Col. Mohammed Assil, former Kabul police officer, who had first-hand knowledge of Soviet involvement in the administration of the Kabul government and of Soviet participation in the widespread torture of prisoners. Ms. Roxanne Klass of the Afghanistan Information Center of Freedom House, the sponsors of the resistance leaders, provided an overview of the situation in Afghanistan.

On May 25, 1983, the Commission held an informal meeting with Jerzy Milewski, Director of the Brussels Coordinating Office of Solidarity, to hear his views on the status of Solidarity in Poland, its relationship to internal Polish affairs and to the Madrid CSCE Review Meeting. Mr. Milewski

made a short introductory statement and answered questions from Commissioners, Commission staff, Members of Congress and representatives of various interested non-governmental organizations.

On July 21, 1983, the Commission hosted two briefings with Ambassador Kampelman on the Madrid CSCE Review Meeting. The first briefing was a closed session for the Commissioners as well as interested Members of Congress and their staffs. Ambassador Kampelman, accompanied by Deputy Assistant Secretaries of State for European Affairs John Kelly and Mark Palmer, gave his assessment on the soon-to-be-concluded Madrid Meeting. After his introductory statement, Ambassador Kampelman responded to questions. This closed session was followed by an open, public briefing by Ambassador Kampelman for members of interested non-governmental organizations.

Mr. Mikhail Pophadze, a native of Soviet Georgia and touring musician, who defected in Paris in May 1983, met with members of the Commission staff on October 26, 1983 to discuss current events in the Soviet Union. Mr. Pophadze, former member of a Georgian rock group, reported on, among other topics, the economic, religious, political and cultural situation in the Soviet Union.

An informal Commission meeting was held on October 27, 1983 with Aarne Vahtra, former Director of the Theatre Department in the Estonian Ministry of Culture, who defected in Paris in September 1982. Mr. Vahtra was accompanied by Ms. Anita Bedelis and Mr. Gunnars Meierovics of the Joint Baltic American National Committee. Mr. Vahtra spoke about the threats of Russification in the Baltic states and the manipulation of cultural activities for ideological and propaganda purposes. After his brief statement, Mr. Vahtra responded to questions from Commissioners, Congressional members of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Baltics and Ukraine, Congressional aides and members of the press.

Following an official U.S.-Romania human rights roundtable held in Washington from February 27-29, 1984, the Commission hosted a reception in the Congress for the members of the Romanian delegation so that they could hear the views of Members of Congress on these issues. About 75 people attended the reception which was hosted by Chairman Fascell. Members of the Commission staff participated in an official U.S.-Romania human rights roundtable held at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The roundtable, an activity which is a direct response to the recommendations of the Madrid CSCE Review Meeting, discussed various aspects of human rights as set forth in the Helsinki Final Act. The U.S. side was strongly critical of Romanian human rights practices.

On April 18, 1984, the Commission held an informal meeting with Georgy Vladimov, a noted Russian prose writer and former head of the Moscow chapter of Amnesty International who was forced to emigrate in May of 1983. Mr. Vladimov discussed the current situation in the USSR, particularly that of the Moscow intellectual community, and responded to questions from members of the press and Congressional staff.

On May 14, 1984, Chairman Fascell hosted an informal meeting with Mrs. Natalya Hesse, a close friend of the Sakharovs who was forced out of the Soviet Union in February 1984. Mrs. Hesse, who is the last person to have seen the Sakharovs before they began their hunger strike, stressed their precarious health and almost total isolation.

The Commission staff held an informal meeting on October 15, 1984 with two Estonian defectors, Valdo Randpere and Leila Miller, accompanied by Mr. Piirisild of the Baltic-American Freedom League and Mrs. Rikken of the Estonian-American National Council. In August 1984, Valdo Randpere, a former official in the Estonian Ministry of Justice, and his wife, Leila Miller, a well-known Estonian popular singer, defected to Sweden. They discussed the current situation in Estonia and asked for assistance in family reunification with their infant daughter who is still in Estonia.

V. COORDINATION AND POLICY

During the 98th Congress, the Commission continued to assist in the development and coordination of U.S. policy on CSCE issues. The Commission worked closely with other U.S. Government agencies in the planning of policies and took part in consultations with many of the other 34 countries participating in the Helsinki process.

The Commission worked closely with the Bureau of European Affairs at the Department of State. The Commission staff meet frequently with State Department officers who are concerned with CSCE matters and with other Department officers whose work is related to CSCE issues, including the desk officers of most of the signatory States. The Regional Political Military Affairs Office in the European Bureau provided the staff with copies of State Department cables related to CSCE matters.

Commission staff members and representatives of other organizations in the U.S. Government, including the Department of Defense, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, U.S. Information Agency and the Department of Commerce, participated actively with the Department of State in the formulation of policy positions relating to CSCE. In addition, Commission staff did the initial drafts of several position papers and speeches used by the delegation at Madrid. The Commission staff authored many of the new proposals tabled by the United

States and its allies at the Madrid Meeting. Staff members also played an integral policy and operative role in several follow-up meetings mandated by the Madrid Concluding Document.

The Commission has also participated in consultations with other signatories to the Final Act. The principal forum for coordinating the positions of the allies are NATO meetings held periodically in Brussels and informal meetings of the allied heads of delegations and their principal aides held periodically in various West European cities. Commission staff members participated regularly in these consultative meetings.

Commission staff also participated in bilateral consultations with several CSCE signatories in Washington. The Commission met with CSCE Ambassadors or officials from the Federal Republic of Germany, Switzerland and Yugoslavia. In addition, staff members continued regular contacts with Embassy officials from several CSCE states including the Federal Republic of Germany, Yugoslavia, France, Romania, Hungary and Turkey.

VI. CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS

Although the Commission is an independent agency with representation from the Executive Branch, the majority of Commissioners are Members of Congress and the Chairman is appointed by the Speaker of the House. As a result, the Commission maintains a special relationship with the Congress and works closely with individual Members, Committees, Subcommittees, and the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress.

In 1983, the Commission staff regularly responded to Congressional inquiries regarding the CSCE process and the Madrid Meeting, as well as issues affecting East-West relations and human rights in Eastern Europe. In July 1983, the Commission held a closed briefing for Members of Congress and their staff on the status of the Madrid Meeting.

The Commission staff also filled many requests for information on the status of individual cases. In addition to supplying this information, the Commission staff suggested actions a Member might take, provided materials for the preparation of speeches and statements for the Congressional Record and drafted letters or statements for the Member's use. If the staff was unable to furnish the necessary information, it referred the Member's office to the appropriate private organization or government agency.

The Commission also functioned as a clearinghouse for information about Congressional activities on U.S.-European human rights and other Helsinki-related issues. Often, Congressional staffers contacted the Commission to inquire what

other Congressional offices had been active in a particular case and what actions had been taken on behalf of that case. Many offices routinely send the Commission copies of letters they have sent or statements they have made regarding individual cases so that the Commission can keep abreast of these efforts and be better able to inform other offices.

The Commission worked closely with, and provided information to, several Congressional human rights groups in 1983-84 including the Congressional Human Rights Caucus, the Advisory Council on Religious Rights, the Interparliamentary Group on Human Rights in the Soviet Union, the Friends of Human Rights Monitors, the Ad Hoc Committee on the Baltics and Ukraine, and the 98th Congressional Class for Soviet Jewry. The Commission also fielded inquiries from the Library of Congress.

The Commission supplied background and briefing materials to Members of Congress who travelled to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in 1983-84 and, in several instances, conducted briefings for Congressional delegations prior to their departure. The Commission also provided briefing materials for Members participating in interparliamentary groups such as the North Atlantic Assembly, the European Parliament and the Interparliamentary Group for Human Rights in the Soviet Union. Commission staffers worked with the staff of the House Foreign Affairs Committee in the preparation of and participation in the Fifth Interparliamentary Conference on European Cooperation and Security in Budapest in May 1983. Commission staff also accompanied the U.S. delegation to the 1983 meetings of the U.S.-European Parliament.

In Madrid, the Commission staff acted as the Congressional relations officers for the U.S. delegation and had complete responsibility for visiting Members and Congressional staffers. The Commission Chairman led a Congressional delegation to Madrid for the September 1983 closing ceremonies of the three-year-long Madrid Meeting. The Commission staff also provided briefing material and liaison support for Congressional delegations visiting the Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe in Stockholm in 1984.

While the Commission has no legislative authority, the Commission staff served as a resource for Members of Congress, their staffs and Committee staffers in the initiation and drafting stages of resolutions dealing with CSCE, human rights and related issues, such as S. Con. Res. 80 and H. Con. Res. 192 on Baltic self-determination, H. Con. Res. 63 on the plight of Soviet Jews and S. Con. Res. 119, sponsored by Commissioner Senator Claiborne Pell, dealing with religious liberty in the USSR and Eastern Europe. In addition, on March 15, 1984 Chairman Fascell sponsored and coordinated a House Special

Order in commemoration of the "International Day of Concern for Soviet Jews" in which seventy-five Members of the House took part. In June 1983, Commission staff drafted an extensive human rights speech presented by Congressman Waxman before the Supreme Soviet in Moscow.

The Commission -- through public hearings -- provided a forum for Members to express their views on many Helsinki-related issues and, where appropriate, held joint hearings with legislative Committees of the Congress. In addition, the Commission staff assisted Committee staffs of the House and Senate in the preparation of hearings by the Committees on a variety of issues, including Soviet non-delivery of mail and the commemoration of the 1932-33 famine in Ukraine.

The Commission played a pivotal role in the 1983 Congressional review of the eligibility of Hungary and Romania to receive Most-Favored-Nation (MFN) trading status in conformity with the 1974 Trade Act's Jackson-Vanik provisions. As part of its mandate to monitor and promote compliance with the humanitarian provisions of the Final Act, the Commission collected human rights information on Hungary and Romania pertinent to the MFN review and provided it to the relevant Executive Branch agencies, Congressional offices and the Subcommittees on Trade of the House and Senate which conduct hearings on the subject annually. Both the Commission Chairman and Co-chairman submitted testimony at the MFN hearings and the Commission staff prepared speeches, testimony and briefing materials on this issue for many other Members of Congress. When, in 1983, Romania imposed an "education tax" on would-be emigrants, the Commission helped to organize effective Congressional protest.

Commission publications are available to all Congressional offices and hearing notifications are published in the Congressional Record so that interested Members will be kept informed of the Commission's activities.

VII. REPORTS AND PUBLICATIONS

Among the various reports and publications the Commission issued and/or distributed during the 98th Congress are:

(a) CSCE Digest -- Issued bi-monthly, the Digest offers a sampling of American and European media coverage of Helsinki-related topics as well as information on meetings of the CSCE and staff reports on CSCE-related topics. The periodical also contains a section on Commission activities. The Digest is mailed to interested Members of Congress, governmental and private organizations, to the press and the general public in the United States and in Europe as well as to the governments of CSCE member countries.

(b) The Madrid CSCE Review Meeting: Interim Reports -- Following each major recess and at significant junctures in the Madrid Meeting, the Commission prepared updated accounts describing in detail the state-of-play of the negotiation, noting any progress made and analyzing the prospects for the upcoming sessions. Interim updates published in 1983 were issued on: January 14 ("Phase V Interim Report"); February 28, March 15, April 4, May 17, June 8 (all CSCE Digest lead stories entitled "Madrid Update"); July 11 (CSCE Digest, "Madrid Update: The Meeting Nears Conclusion"); August 8 (CSCE Digest, "Madrid Update: All Agreed But One"); August 30 (CSCE Digest, "Madrid Update: Still All Agreed but One"); October 12 (CSCE Digest, "Special Edition: The Madrid Meeting -- An Analysis").

(c) The Madrid CSCE Review Meeting: Final Report -- Released in November 1983, the report contains the Commission's comprehensive assessment of the three-year Madrid Meeting which ended in September. The report documents the negotiating history of the meeting, comments on the significance of its outcome for the CSCE process and for East-West relations, features transcripts of several key speeches made by members of the U.S. delegation and provides the full text of the 38-page Madrid Concluding Document together with an analysis of its content.

(d) Documents of the Soviet Groups to Establish Trust Between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. -- Issued on May 22, 1984, this comprehensive, 142-page compendium of letters, appeals and reports authored by unofficial peace groups in the Soviet Union was translated and edited by the Commission staff and distributed in connection with a hearing on the same topic.

(e) Helsinki, Gdansk, Madrid -- This lengthy feature article by Commission Chairman Fascell describes the interaction between developments in Poland and the Madrid Meeting and suggests how the Madrid Concluding Document can be used to further the human rights cause in Poland. The piece first appeared in the Fall edition of The Washington Quarterly of The Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies and later was distributed widely in reprint form via the Commission's extensive mailing list.

(f) Forced Labor in the USSR -- This 19-page article was published in Russia, Issue No. 10, in the Fall of 1984. It examines aspects of the Soviet forced labor issue including the international legal and CSCE dimensions, current status, forced labor in the Soviet Economy, prisoner working conditions, recent trends and future prospects.

(g) Semi-annual Reports by the President to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe -- Initiated in December 1976, the reports are required by legislation establishing the Commission and are prepared by the State Department at

six-month intervals. They chronicle implementation (or violation) of Helsinki provisions by CSCE signatory states. The Commission has widely disseminated the semiannuals to the press, the public and official and private organizations in all signatory countries. During the 98th Congress, four semiannual reports were issued, the fourteenth through seventeenth.

(h) The Postive Impact of the CSCE Process -- Throughout 1984, a major portion of the Commission's staff resources was devoted to the preparation of the first comprehensive report on the positive aspects of the CSCE process. This report is based on extensive staff research and draws on the experience of nearly all the CSCE participating States except for the countries of the Warsaw Pact which declined to cooperate in the project. This report is expected to be completed and issued in early 1985.

VIII. COOPERATION WITH NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are a primary source of information for the Commission as well as a major channel through which the Commission publicizes its work. The Commission is geared to bring the particular CSCE-related concerns of private groups to the attention of government decision-makers. In turn, the Commission endeavors to make government policies and activities regarding CSCE more accessible to NGOs.

The Commission keeps in close and regular contact with representatives of the various human rights, ethnic and religious groups in the United States and abroad who are actively interested in CSCE. Over 1,000 members of the NGO community regularly receive Commission publications. NGO representatives are invited to attend the various Commission-sponsored events. Through hearings and other public activities, the Commission attempts to provide a forum for NGOs to express their views. Private witnesses are invited to testify and submit statements at these public events for which NGOs have often provided the impetus. On a less formal basis, Commissioners and staff members frequently meet with and consult representatives of private organizations.

During 1983, Commission staff members served as the U.S. Delegation's principal liaisons with NGO representatives who visited the Madrid conference. Commission members of the delegation conducted briefings and arranged meetings for NGOs with U.S. and other delegation leaders. At the same time, the Commission staff kept the NGO community in the United States abreast of conference developments. To this end, a section of the periodical Commission CSCE Digest was devoted to "Madrid Updates", which provided a state-of-play account of the ongoing talks. A final Commission assessment of the three-year negotiation, The Madrid Review Meeting, was sent to a larger

audience of several thousand people, including numerous NGOs in the United States and in Europe. Commission staffers also maintained extensive personal contacts with NGO representatives in order to keep them up-to-date on the meeting. In February and again in July 1983, the Commission hosted briefings for NGO representatives with Ambassador Max Kampelman, the chief U.S. negotiator at Madrid.

As a special service to ethnic groups following the Madrid proceedings, the Commission authored feature articles and gave specialized briefings explaining how the human rights concerns of these groups in particular were raised by the U.S. Delegation in Madrid. Among the feature publications were: an article entitled "Monitoring the Helsinki Process", which appeared in the Spring 1984 issue of the Ukrainian newspaper Smoloskyp; an interview for the Paris-based Russian language weekly, Russkaya Mysl, on the Soviet human rights issues which occupied the conference; an article by Chairman Fascell entitled "Helsinki, Gdansk, Madrid," which appeared in the Fall 1984 edition of the Washington Quarterly and describes how events in Poland affected the Madrid talks.

During the 98th Congress, the Commission participated in numerous conferences, seminars, assemblies and meetings hosted by private organizations and professional associations both in the United States and abroad. A Commission expert on Soviet Jewry served as a delegate to the Third World Conference on Soviet Jewry held in Jerusalem, Israel from March 15-17, 1983. Also, on May 26-27, 1984, in Paris, France, Commission staff experts assisted U.S. congressional delegates at the preparatory meetings of the International Parliamentary Group Conference on Human Rights in the Soviet Union.

For his commitment to the defense of human rights and religious liberties, and in particular for his work as Chairman of the Helsinki Commission, Congressman Dante Fascell was presented with the Henry M. Jackson Friend of Freedom award by the Coalition for a Democratic Majority on November 16, 1983. In 1984, the Commission was given the annual Alexander Solzhenitsyn Freedom award by Christian Solidarity International -- U.S.A., Inc. Previous recipients of the award include Lech Walesa and Ronald Reagan.

IX. OTHER PUBLIC CONTACTS

An important part of Commission public activity is participation in various meetings and discussions -- on topics ranging from human rights to military security -- with governmental, academic and professional groups, and private organizations. Such participation includes presenting papers by Commissioners and staff, taking part in panel discussions and tracking findings of relevant conferences and seminars.

During the 98th Congress, the Commission staff participated in meetings with various branches of the U.S. Government including the National Security Council, the White House Office for Public Liaison, the U.S. Information Agency, the Departments of State, Labor, Commerce and Defense (the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Office of the Secretary of Defense and the National War College), the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and the Library of Congress, particularly the Congressional Research Service.

The Commission was also active in meetings of various multilateral international organizations during the 98th Congress. Commission staffers attended an organizational meeting of the International Parliamentary Group for Human Rights in the Soviet Union. A Commission staffer was a member of the U.S. delegation to the Economic Council of Europe and participated in planning for various ECE meetings.

The Commission also maintains contacts with private organizations interested in trade and other international issues. This list includes both the International and U.S. Chambers of Commerce; Business International; the American Arbitration Association; the U.S. Youth Council; the American Council of Young Political Leaders; the Washington Legal Foundation; and the Fund for New Priorities.

Numerous universities and professional organizations have requested Commission participation in seminars, conferences, lectures and study programs including Harvard University's Russian Research Center; Temple University; the Johns Hopkins School for Advanced International Studies; American University's Foreign Policy Semester Program; the Institute on East/Central Europe of Columbia University; Yale University; the Ukrainian Institute of America; the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies; the Institute for East-West Security Studies; the Arden House Conference on U.S.-Soviet Relations; the International Studies Association; Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies; and the Center for Turkic and Altaic Studies at Indiana University.

X. MEDIA ACTIVITIES

The main periodical publication of the Commission is the CSCE Digest which attempts a detailed compilation of significant U.S. and European media coverage of Helsinki-related topics as well as staff studies on selected issues. The Digest serves as a vehicle for reporting to the public significant activities of the Commissioners and legislative actions in Congress pertaining to East-West relations and human rights conditions in the CSCE signatory countries. Selected Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) daily translations of media in the Soviet Union, Eastern

and Western Europe are included in the Digest as are articles relevant to the CSCE process and East-West relations. The CSCE Digest also includes a section on Commission staff activities and is mailed to interested Members of Congress, foreign governments, U.S. government and private organizations, media representatives and the general public in the United States and abroad. Currently the mailing list for the CSCE Digest includes over 800 individuals and organizations. The Commission prepared 28 issues of the CSCE Digest throughout the 98th Congress.

The Commission worked closely with the media elements of U.S. government agencies -- especially the appropriate language services of the Voice of America, the Press Service of the United States Information Agency, and the news staffs of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. These organizations are vital to the Commission's work since they carry its messages to East European and Soviet audiences whose access to uncensored information is restricted by their own governments. VOA, RFE and Radio Liberty gave extensive coverage to Commission activities with special emphasis on public hearings, the Madrid CSCE review conference, and the Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. The effectiveness of their coverage has been frequently demonstrated by the appearance of criticism in the Soviet and East European media. For example, a long article in the Soviet Union's Literaturnia gazeta by Central Committee Information Department Chief Leonid Zamiatin in November 1984 attacked VOA and USIA's "Worldnet" TV broadcasts as "tools of interference in the internal affairs (of the Soviet Union) and subversive actions." Politburo member Mikhail Gorbachev told a conference in Moscow that "Our opponent has created a vast propaganda machine for ideological confrontation and uses sophisticated technical means and subversive and psychological methods. In its intensiveness, content, and methods, the 'psychological warfare' being waged by imperialism today constitutes a special kind of aggression which flouts other countries' sovereignty." (Pravda, December 11, 1984.)

In addition, the Commission maintains extensive contacts with representatives of human rights organizations and groups concerned with national, ethnic and religious rights. Such organizations themselves publish newspapers, journals and information bulletins and have welcomed information on Commission activities, general information on human rights issues and translations of samizdat documents by the Commission staff. During the 98th Congress, several members of the Commission staff gave lengthy interviews on the Helsinki process to writers for ethnic publications.

Throughout the 98th Congress, Commission staffers maintained extensive contacts with major U.S. media representatives who recognize the Commission as an

authoritative source for background material on human rights issues and specific cases. A number of articles written by reporters were based totally or in part on Commission materials. A number of articles by Chairman Fascell dealing with violations of the pledges contained in the Helsinki Final Act such as Soviet practices which deny its citizens access to foreign ideas and people appeared in major U.S. newspapers. Commissioners and staff were interviewed for a number of articles and appeared on both radio and television programs. One Commission staffer is a regular participant in the public affairs program "In the Public Interest," which discusses various aspects of Soviet society such as the conditions of ethnic minorities and repression of dissidents, Soviet withdrawal from the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics, and the Sakharov hunger strike. The broadcast is carried by some 400 radio stations in the United States, and has an audience estimated at nine million people throughout the U.S.

During the 98th Congress, the Madrid CSCE Review Conference follow-up meetings, the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, the repressive measures carried out by Poland, the plight of dissidents and the small number of Jews allowed to emigrate from the Soviet Union as well as the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan focused media attention on the Helsinki process and led to numerous inquiries concerning the role of the Commission and the prospects for the future of the Helsinki process.

The Commission staff was especially active in contacts with the media at the Madrid Meeting. Throughout 1983, a Commission staffer acted as the U.S. delegation press spokesman. Duties included regular, daily briefings of the international press, assisting in the drafting of speeches, preparing press releases, arranging press interviews for the head of the American delegation and setting up press conferences for U.S. officials, including a Congressional delegation led by Commission Chairman Dante Fascell.

Some representative examples of Commission media activities in 1983 and 1984 include the following:

On July 21, 1983 the Commission held an informal meeting in Washington, chaired by Representative Fascell for the purpose of briefing the media as well as other interested groups on the outcome of the Madrid Meeting. Ambassador Max Kampelman, chairman of the American delegation at Madrid, gave an assessment of the draft concluding document, and issued a written analysis of it. The media were strongly represented at this public briefing, and parts of Ambassador Kampelman's remarks were carried by cable television. The written assessment, which was made available to the press by the Commission, formed the basis for numerous articles which subsequently appeared in major U.S. newspapers.

Commission Chairman Dante B. Fascell and Staff Director Spencer Oliver participated in a background briefing on January 16, 1984, on the Stockholm CDE at the Institute for East-West Security Studies in New York. The briefing was attended by media representatives and members of the Institute staff. The Institute for East-West Security Studies is an independent international research center devoted to the analysis of critical political, military and economic developments which affect international security. It is a policy oriented organization which maintains close contacts with key policy-makers in Europe and the United States.

The second U.S.-Romanian Human Rights Roundtable was held February 27-29, 1984 at the Carnegie Endowment for Peace in Washington. Upon conclusion of the three days of discussions, CSCE Commission Staff Director Spencer Oliver, in an interview for the Voice of America, stated that the U.S. regards such talks as a "constructive means to communicate human rights concerns to other governments as we develop our bilateral relations and as we cooperate with them within the context of the CSCE."

On March 23, 1984 Commission staff members met with a French journalist covering the war in Soviet-occupied Afghanistan. He was accompanied by two members of the Afghan resistance movement.

In a statement released to the press on May 16, 1984 the Commission Chairman criticized the announcement by the official Soviet international parcel service "Vneshposyltorg" that the Soviet Union would stop accepting parcel post packages from private postal firms in the West.

The Commission staff compiled, translated and edited a 142 page collection of samizdat essays written by members of the unofficial Soviet peace movement. The publication, entitled "Documents of the Soviet Groups to Establish Trust Between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.," was made available to the press and the public.

Among the numerous press releases issued by the Commission during 1983 were notices of Commission hearings, a protest of Romania's imposition of an 'education tax' intended to inhibit emigration, and support for pro-Solidarity demonstrations in Poland.

Topics for press releases issued in 1984 by the Commission included notices of Commission hearings and meetings, nomination of human rights activists for the Nobel Peace Prize, most-favored-nation status for Hungary and Romania and the plight of Hungarian dissident Gyorgy Krasso and the barring of a Commission staff member from the trial of Yugoslav dissidents.